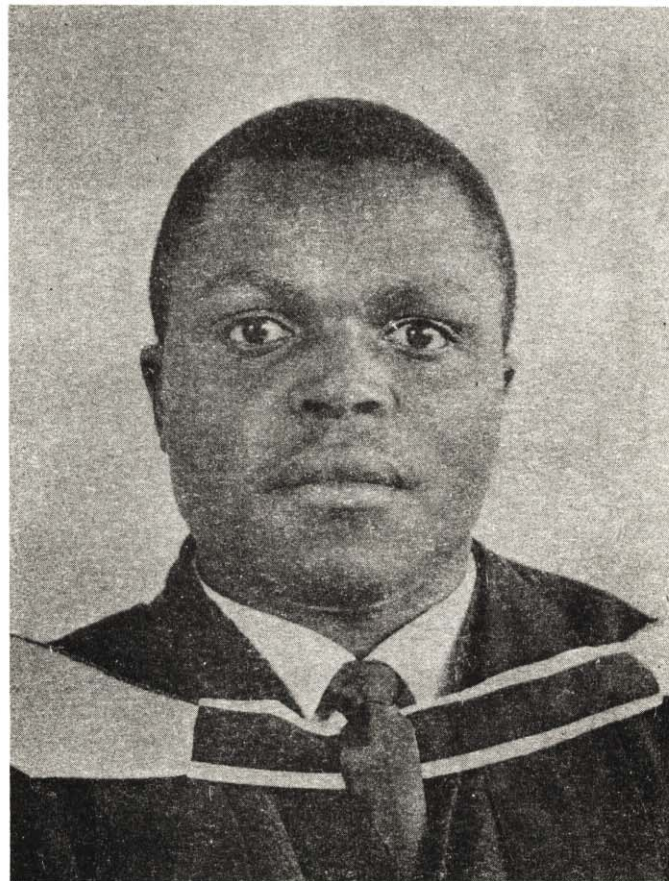


T2.

THE FAMILY SYSTEM RESULTING FROM
THE UNION BETWEEN THE MALAWI MEN
WORKING AT THE ZEBEDIELA ESTATES,
WITH AFRICAN BORN BANTU WOMEN, WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROLES OF
THE VARIOUS FAMILY MEMBERS.

BY

D. E. MABUDAFHASI



EDITED BY

W. H. J. SCHOLTEN

DINANI E. M. MABUDAFHASI:

obiit 19.8.1966

Not for us, Lord, to question or complain.
You know, we could have used him yet a while:
His wisdom needed, as his ready smile,
And eager, youthful zeal, which now — all vain?
Not so: the part achieved remains, to serve
Those whom he loved towards sovereign nationhood.
The vision here he followed, sought the good
To pass it on, until the shock and swerve
That brought an end. But this believe: the rest
Proceeds, and now in other spheres the meed
Of service owed he brings. You, Sir, know best,
Beyond our wit to comprehend. We heed —
So bend, not break us, gently to Your will,
And we'll not weep. O aching heart, be still.

M.W.S.

D.E.M.: NYONESANO

(Farewell)

SHANGO LA VENDA LO AKHAMALA
MUSI HU TSHI ONESA IWE HADZHI WE SHAVHA,
VHUHALI HAU HO VHONALA NA LUFUNI,
MUSI U TSHI RI: "MUDZIMU THUSA VHANA VHA
VHATU,"
LA VHA LONE FHUNGO LA U FHEDZA VHUTSHI-
LONI HAU IWE

DINANI HADZHI.

Op 19 Augustus 1966 het mnr. D. E. M. Mabudafhasi, Hons.-B.A. (S.W.), lektor in die departement Sosiologie aan die Universiteitskollege in die uitvoering van sy diens tragies omgekome. Sy dood is nie net 'n haas onherstelbare verlies vir sy naasbestaandes in die besonder en vir die Venda-volk as geheel nie, maar ook 'n pynlike slag vir sy kollegas van die Kollege.

Met dankbaarheid sal sy kosbare werk in die geheue bly en die invloed daarvan kennelik wees. net soos sy minsame karakter nooit vergeet kan word nie.

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MALAWI MEN WORKING AT THE ZEBEDIELA ESTATES WITH SOUTH
AFRICAN BORN BANTU WOMEN WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
ROLES OF THE VARIOUS FAMILY MEMBERS.

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DEDICATED TO THE WIFE, CHILDREN AND RELATIVES OF THE DECEASED

MR. D.E. MABUDAFHASI

PREFACE

At the time of his death in 1966 as a result of a motor car accident incurred during the course of field work carried out as a lecturer in Sociology at the then University College of the North, Mr. D.E. Mabudafhasi had written a first draft of the first chapter of a proposed M.A. thesis as well as partly completed first drafts of the remaining four chapters thereof. The undersigned, his appointed promotor, considered it appropriate that the academic work undertaken by the deceased should, however, still be published in some way or other, preferably in the form of a research project report. He therefore took it upon himself to compile such a project report from the incomplete drafts and notes at his disposal. In this regard it should be mentioned that the candidate had prepared numerous tables for use in his proposed thesis. However, no trace could be found of most of these tables. Also, only 4 out of the 100 schedules from which the data for the compilation of the tables was obtained could be traced - hence the tables concerned could not be reconstructed.

It will therefore be realized that the task which the undersigned took upon his shoulders was not an easy one. In the writing of this report, however, a sincere attempt was made to follow Mr. Mabudafhasi's style, his way of thinking and reasoning. The extent to which he (the undersigned) succeeded in this regard is naturally open to conjecture.

In conclusion a word of thanks need be expressed towards Mrs. D.E. Mabudafhasi and Mr. M. Bopape for the diverse assistance rendered by them in the preparation of this report.

W.H.J. Scholten

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND CRIMINOLOGY.
UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH.

August, 1973.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Choice of the topic and aim of the study.

The interest of the researcher to study some aspect of social life of the Bantu workers at the Zebediela Estates¹⁾ was aroused by an educational visit he paid to the Estates in 1964 accompanied by a group of Sociology students from the then University College of the North.

During a scouting survey which he conducted later in 1964 with the approval of the Schlesinger Organization, he found that at the Estates 751 workers - and their families - of different ethnic, cultural and geographical origin were accommodated in the same section villages.²⁾ Besides workers from the Republic of South Africa, there were - as Table 1.1 shows - others from Malawi, Zambia, Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.

TABLE 1.1

The Number of Married Workers at the Zebediela Estates, 1964, Analysed According to Country of Origin.

Country of Origin	Number of Married Workers	%
Malawi	200	26,6
P.E. Africa	91	12,1
Zambia	26	3,5
Rhodesia	120	15,9
South Africa	314	41,9
Total	751	100,0

The researcher's interest was drawn to the Malawi workers and decided to limit his study to them, not because they formed the majority of the non-South African Bantu employed by the Estates, but, because they were married

-
- 1) Henceforth to be referred to as the Estates. See also Annexure A with regard to the establishment of the Estates and certain related matters.
 - 2) Henceforth to be referred to as sections.

to or living in concubinage³⁾ with South African Bantu women⁴⁾ - see Table 1.1.1 - who originated almost exclusively from a totally different family system - see Tables 1.1.2 and 1.1.3 - and who also had different ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

TABLE 1.1.1

The Type of Union³⁾ Effected by the Migrant Malawi Men⁵⁾ with the South African Women.

Type of Union	Number of Unions	%
Bantu Custom	20	10,0
Christian Rites	1	0,5
Civil Rites	1	0,5
Concubinage	178	89,0
Total	200	100,0

The data in Table 1.1.1 shows that almost nine out of ten Malawi men were living in concubinage with South African women.

TABLE 1.1.2

The family system from which the Malawi men originate. (Husbands to women referred to in Table 1.1.3.)

Tribe of Origin	Family System	Number of Men	%
Gomani	Matrilineal	92	45,7
Zongendaba	Patrilineal	29	14,5
Chewa	Matrilineal	53	26,6
Nyanja	Matrilineal	9	4,6
Manganja	Patrilineal	12	5,8
Tonga	Matrilineal	2	1,1
Senga	Patrilineal	3	1,7
Total	-	200	100,00

- 3) Unless otherwise stated these unions, for the purpose of this study, will also be referred to as marriages.
 4) Henceforth to be referred to as South African women.
 5) Henceforth to be referred to as Malawi men.

Table 1.1.2 indicates that about eight out of ten Malawi men originate from matrilineal family systems.

TABLE 1.1.3

The family system from which the South African Women originate (Wives to men referred to in Table 1.1.2)

Tribe of Origin	Family System	Number of Women	%
Ndebele	Patrilineal	123	61,5
Pedi	"	47	23,5
Tsonga	"	18	9,0
Venda	"	2	1,0
Tswana	"	2	1,0
Zulu	"	2	1,0
Swazi	"	3	1,5
Gomani	Matrilineal	2	1,0
Yao	"	1	0,5
Total	-	200	100,0

The data in Table 1.1.3 shows that the South African women originate almost exclusively from patriarchal family systems. The researcher also considered it appropriate to obtain information on the previous marital status of the South African women and of the Malawi men before they came into contact with each other. Tables 1.1.4 and 1.1.5 provide this information for the women and men respectively.

TABLE 1.1.4

Previous Marital Status of the South African Women

Previous Marital Status	Number of Women	%
<u>Divorced/Separated</u> (from S.A. Bantu men)	26	13,0
<u>Widowed</u> (husbands S.A. Bantu men)	64	32,0
<u>Deserted</u> (by S.A. Bantu men)	42	21,0
<u>Had illegitimate children</u> (fathers said to be S.A. Bantu men)	34	17,0
<u>Were never married</u> (had no children)	34	17,0
Total	200	100,00

The data in Table 1.1.4 shows that most of the women who were either married to or living in concubinage with Malawi men were previously married to South African Bantu men, but were later either divorced, separated, deserted or widowed or were not married but had illegitimate children. Almost one fifth of the women were never married before and had no children at the time of contact with the Malawi men, whereas a further one fifth had illegitimate children (presumably by S.A. Bantu men).

TABLE 1.1.5

The Previous Marital Status of the Malawi Men

Previous Marital Status	Number of Men	%
Married in Malawi	134	67,0
Married and divorced at the Estates	2	1,0
Married and widowed at the Estates	14	7,0
Living in concubinage or married and deserted at the Estates	50	25,0
Total	200	100,0

From Table 1.1.5 it can be seen that the majority ~~-two-thirds-~~ of the Malawi men were married to women in Malawi before effecting their present unions/marriages. A considerable number - about one in four - had, however, been living in concubinage with other women at the Estates.

With the information obtained by means of the scouting survey the researcher came to the conclusion that although he was interested in social relationships in general at the Estates, it would be wise, appropriate and of sociological importance with regard to ethnic relations, to undertake a study of the social relationships within the family of the Malawi men, especially with regard to the roles of husband and wife and certain related matters. In more detail the choice and aim of the researcher with regard to the Malawi family, was to study -

- (i) the roles of husband and wife in respect of the household duties, the care, upbringing and education of the children, the economic support of the family and certain related matters such as the roles of the children and relatives; and

- (ii) the extent to which the absence of lobola in marriage or the absence of marriage sureties influence the roles of husband and wife in the family.

1.2 The Hypothesis

The role of the hypothesis in scientific research is to suggest explanations for certain facts and to guide in the investigation of others. As Selltitz states;

"We cannot take a single step forward in any inquiry unless we begin with a suggested explanation or solution of the difficulty which originated it. Such tentative explanations are suggested to us by something in the subject matter and by our previous knowledge. When they are formulated as propositions they are called hypotheses".⁶⁾

A hypothesis for this study is formulated as follows:

- (i) Where men from a matriarchal/matrilineal family system marry women from a patriarchal/patrilineal family society, such a family will have more patriarchal/patrilineal characteristics than matriarchal/matrilineal ones.
- (ii) When lobola is absent in a marriage between a patriarchal/patrilineal woman and a matriarchal/matrilineal man the role of the woman will be that of a mother of illegitimate children and that of the man like that of a concubine.

The completion of this study will either prove or disprove the validity of the above-mentioned hypothesis in its entirety or in part.

1.3 Research Methods Employed in the Study

(a) The Sample

As the study focuses attention on the roles of husband and wife in the family of the Malawi men the main attention will necessarily fall on the family.

6) Selltitz, C, Jahoda, M, Deutsch M, and Cook, S.W. Research Methods in Social Relations, p. 35.

The Estates cover an area of twenty five square miles and are divided into seventeen sections. Each section has its own compound for the unmarried workers and a village for the married ones. A number of families of the Malawi men in each section village, will, for the purposes of this study be considered as a cluster.

It was decided not to approach all of the 200 families of the Malawi men on the Estates, but only a random sample which would be representative of these families. It was considered that a fifty percent representative sample would suffice and consequently fifty percent of the Malawi families in each section village were approached in the following manner:

A list of the Malawi workers residing in each section village was drawn up and arranged according to the employment numbers allotted to them by the Estates at the time of their recruitment. In each village the family of every second worker on the respective lists was approached. In each list, the sampling commenced with the number randomly pronounced by the respective village managers. In this manner - so it is claimed - a quasi-random representative sample of 100 Malawi families was obtained.

(b) The Schedules

In order to obtain most of the necessary data two schedules were used. The first of these is Schedule A (see Annexure B). Information on the questions in this schedule was provided by section managers on the one hand and on the other hand by means of a direct approach by the researcher to the families concerned. This schedule was intended to gather information on

- (i) the number of Malawi families in which marriage was contracted after lobola had been issued;
- (ii) those families in which lobola was not issued in respect of the wife; and
- (iii) certain related matters.

Schedule B (see Annexure C) was the main schedule applied to obtain data on the roles of the husband and of the wife in the family of

the Malawi men. Information on the questions in this schedule was obtained solely by interviewing the families included in the sample.

(c) The Language Construction of the Schedules

The scouting survey referred to on page 1, brought to light that in each of the families concerned the language of the wife was the home language. As can be seen from Table 1.1.3 above, the wives of the Malawi men belong to nine different tribes, hence the families of the Malawi men at the Estates can be divided into nine different ethnic, tribal or cultural groups. It was therefore impractical for the researcher to construct the schedules in all the different home languages of the people under study. This difficulty was overcome by constructing the schedules in English, the language in which the thesis report was to be written.

(d) The Interviews

The researcher was assisted by the section managers to arrange for the time and place of the interviews. These were conducted in the rondavels or in the lapas of the families included in the sample. No members of other families were allowed to be present at the interviews with any particular family. This was done in order to set the interviewees at ease and avoid the possibility that their affairs would become known to other people other than the researcher.

In asking the questions, the researcher translated the questions on the schedules into the language of the family concerned. The investigator, therefore, had to change his language medium from family to family. This proved to be no obstacle, however, for the investigator was proficient in Venda, Pedi, Tsonga, Zulu and Fana ka lo.⁷⁾ In all, six different languages are spoken by the Malawi families at the Estates. Since Pedi is the language spoken by the majority at the Estates and is also the language of the adjacent neighbourhood of the Estates, it is understood and spoken

7) A language formed out of a mixture of Bantu languages and official languages in South Africa.

by most of these families. In the families where a language foreign to the researcher, namely Chinyanja was spoken, the researcher made use of an interpreter. There were three such families on the Estates. In this way, however, the language difficulty was overcome.

The interviews were conducted during the day and also during the evening until approximately 9.00 p.m. Most of the interviews took place over weekends when both husband and wife were at home. The interviews were held with all adult members of the family.

(e) The Socio-historical Method

In order to gather information on the beginning of the contact between the Malawi men and the South African women, the researcher resorted to historical events - hence the use of the socio-historical method. The information on the history of the Estates was obtained from literature on the subject by Van Blerk⁸⁾ and from other informants. The informants provided information on the beginning of the contacts between Malawi men and South African women. The chief informant in this respect was Ben Maja.⁹⁾

The information on the family system of the South African women and that on the family system applicable in Malawi is based on literature, while the information on the roles of husband and wife in the nuclear family of the migrant Malawi is based on the investigator's field research.

(f) The Comparative Method

In order to arrive at a conclusion on the various aspects studied, use was made of the comparative method. The investigator contrasted patrilineal and matrilineal characteristics and applied them to the family of the migrant Malawi in order to establish the characteristics which are dominant in this family. This matter is dealt with in Chapter IV.

8) Van Blerk, A.R.: History of Zebediela Estates, April 1968, Zebediela.

9) Ben Maja, a clerk at the Estates from 1918 to 1960. He reads, writes and speaks English fluently.

The roles of husband and wife in families effected out of customary unions were also compared with those of husband and wife in families where no such unions took place. (See also Chapter IV in this connection.) The comparative method was therefore one of the important methods used in this study.

(g) Statistical Method

The statistical method was widely used in this study, e.g. the determining of the size and choice of the sample, frequency distributions, the extent of the phenomena and related matters. This study would hardly have been possible without the use of statistical methods.

1.4 Reliability of the Data Obtained and Related Aspects

In December 1960 and January 1961, the researcher carried out a survey of social services at the Penge Asbestos Mine, near Lydenburg. It was a mere coincidence that shortly after his departure, the foreign Bantu miners, including those of Malawi were issued with a repatriation order.

Some of the Malawi men who did not obey the repatriation order, left Penge Mine and took up new employment with the Estates. When they met the researcher at the Estates, they started to spread false news that he was working for the Government and that his duty was to repatriate foreign Bantu. One of the difficulties which confronted the researcher was, therefore, to convince the people at the Estates that this rumour was entirely without foundation.

The researcher realised that the people concerned would not believe him if he told them that he was gathering information for a Master's degree thesis in Sociology. He therefore, chose to tell the people that he was gathering information for a book on the life of the Migrant Malawi at the Estates. This explanation was within the understanding of the people. After much explanation and with the assistance of certain "key men" in the Malawi community at the Estates, the "problem" was eventually successfully solved.

The fact that the families of the Malawi men speak different languages presented yet another difficulty. However, the researcher's ability to speak most of these languages and the use he made of a Malawi interpreter

where this was necessary, helped him to overcome this difficulty.

The Malawi men, like other workers at the Estates, were not available in their own homes during the day, except during weekends. The researcher had, therefore, either to work in the evening or only over weekends. Most workers were also, because of recreative activities, not available for interviewing on Saturdays or Sunday afternoons. To overcome this difficulty the researcher conducted most of the interviews over weekends. However, he did this between 7.00 a.m. and 12.30 p.m. on Saturdays and Sundays. In this way, no interviews were conducted during the recreational hours. A few interviews were held with the men during the course of the week. Most of these took place with men who were on night duty.

As the researcher was able to overcome the difficulties referred to, he claimed that the data eventually obtained from the families concerned could be considered reliable.

1.5 Terms and Concepts used in the Study

Certain concepts and terms are used in this study. The following is a circumscription of such terms and concepts.

(a) The Family

According to Burgess and Locke, a definition of the family must include that which is common to a great variety of human groups to which the term family has been applied. They cite four main characteristics which are common to the family in all times and all places and differentiate the family from other social groups:

- (i) The family is composed of persons united by ties of blood or adoption. The bond between husband and wife is that of marriage; and the relationship between parents and children is generally that of blood, but sometimes of adoption.
- (ii) The members of the family typically live together under one roof and constitute a single household. Sometimes the household is multiple, consisting of as many as three, four, or even five generations.
- (iii) The family is a unity of interacting and intercommunicating persons enacting the roles of husband and wife, mother and father,

son and daughter, brother and sister. The roles are defined by the community, but in each community they are powerfully reinforced by sentiments, partly traditional and partly emotional circumstances or factors arising out of experience.

- (iv) The family maintains a common culture, derived mainly from the general culture, but in a complex society possessing some distinctive features for each family.¹⁰⁾

(b) Patriarchal Family

The term patriarchal connotes power centered in a man, usually the father or grandfather in a family group. A patriarchal family, therefore, is the type of family governed by the father or in a traditional Bantu Society by the eldest male head.

(c) Patrilineal

This concept refers to the practice whereby descent in the family is traced only through males.

(d) Patrilocal Residence

This is a practice whereby a woman after marriage takes up residence at the husband's village. Hence a man with his wife, his sons, their wives and the unmarried daughters are united in one locality. As Queen, Habenstein and Adams put it, patrilocal residence means that the family resides with or near relatives of the husband.¹¹⁾

(e) Matriarchal Family

This is a family wherein power is centered in a woman, usually the mother or grandmother. Therefore "matriarchy" with respect to the family refers to the rule of the family by the mother, not the father.¹²⁾ In a traditional matriarchal Bantu Society this means rule by the eldest female head.

(f) Matrilineal

The concept denotes a method of tracing descent by the recognition of

10) Burgess, E.W. and Locke H.J.: The Family, New York, 1945, pp. 7-8.
 11) Queen, S.A., Habenstein R.W., and Adams, J.B.: The Family in Various Cultures, Chicago, 1961, p. 12.
 12) Lowie, R.H.: Primitive Society, London, 1929, p. 67.

relationships based upon descent from a common ancestor or ancestress through women only. Matrilineal descent is found not only with matrilineal residence but also with patrilineal residence.

(g) Matrilocal Residence

This is a practice whereby "... the husband of a woman lives in his wife's home but without tenure of residence rights"¹³⁾. In the case of divorce, the husband must leave and return to the house of his childhood, the one owned by his mother or one of his sisters. Matrilocal residence therefore means that residence is with or near relatives of the wife.

(h) Bilocal Residence

This is a practice whereby a married couple can choose either patrilineal or matrilineal residence.

(i) Polygamy

This designates a marriage of either a man or woman with more than one spouse. As Winick puts it: "Marriage in which a member of either sex has more than one spouse".¹⁴⁾

(j) Monogamy

A custom whereby one man marries only one wife.

(k) Extended Family

Fairchild defines an extended family as "a social group consisting of several related individual families, especially those of a man and his sons or of a woman and her daughters, residing in a single large dwelling or cluster of smaller ones"¹⁵⁾

(l) Nuclear Family

This is a family made up of husband and wife together with their own or adopted children. A nuclear family into which one is born and/or in which one is reared i.e. socialized or orientated, is sometimes referred to as the "family of origin".¹⁶⁾ The nuclear family is sometimes also

13) Winick, C.: Dictionary of Anthropology, New Jersey, 1958, p. 348.

14) Burgess, E.W. and Locke, H.J.: Op cit, p. 10.

15) Fairchild, H.P.: Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences, p.114.

16) Rosser, C. and Harris, C.: The Family and Social Change, p. 19.

referred to as the "family of procreation" formed by the act and issue of the union.

(m) Compound Family

This is a type of family which consists of a husband with more than one wife or a woman with more than one husband. The former is known as a polygamous family and the latter as a polyandrous family.

(n) Village

The term usually refers to an assemblage of houses smaller than a town and larger than a hamlet. In this study, however, the term will be used to refer to an assemblage of rondavels of the Bantu workers constituting the married quarters at the Estates.

(o) Compound

The term compound will be used in this study to refer to an assemblage of blocks of buildings constituting the living quarters of single persons employed by the Estates.

(p) Status and Role

Since this study focuses attention on the roles of husband and wife in the family of the migrant Malawi, the concepts of role and status require explanation in detail.

(i) Role

There are a mass of definitions of the concept role. These definitions can, however, be grouped into two main categories. The first of these categories consists of definitions devised by social psychologists who use the concept "role" as a synonym of imitation. It was first in this sense that the concept "role" developed. The individual learns to follow models of conduct which are suggested to him by others who are significant to him. Coser and Rosenberg, for example, say that the ability imaginatively to enact the role of others is a precondition for the rational anticipation of the responses of others and for the adequate perception of one's self".¹⁷⁾

17) Coser, Z.A. and Rosenberg, B.: Sociological Theory, a book of readings, New York, 1957, p. 247.

The second category of definitions of this concept is that of the sociologists who use it as a functional-structural one. The meaning of the structural-functional concept is made clear by Johnson who says that one of the most important aspects of the organization of structure of any social system is the fact that its members are differentiated according to the social positions they occupy.¹⁸⁾ To Johnson social position is a unit incorporating both element and process. It contains within it a structural element implying status (rights) and a functional element - a process implying obligations (functions). This approach to the concept "role" is generally accepted by sociologists today. There are, however, also differences in definitions of role within this second category. One group of authors within this category define role as expected behaviour of a person occupying a certain position or status. Goldschmidt, Merrill and Linton,¹⁹⁾ are among those who define role in terms of what a person is supposed to do, other than what he actually does in a certain position. These authors define role specifically as a set of behaviour expectations.

Another set of authors define the concept as the actual behaviour of a person occupying a certain status or position. Parsons and Davis are among the authors who define role as the actual behaviour of a person in a certain position.

The latter says in this connection: "The role then is the manner in which a person actually carries out the requirements of his position and is the dynamic aspect of status or office."²⁰⁾

To Parsons,²¹⁾ role means what the actor does in his relations with others, hence his actual behaviour in the position he occupies in the social system. Parsons' formulation of the concepts is therefore best understood against the background of the action frame of

-
- 18) Johnson, H.M.: Sociology: A Systematic Introduction, pp. 48, 53, 59.
 19) (a) Goldschmidt, W.: Exploring the ways of mankind, Los Angeles, 1960, pp. 316-317.
 (b) Merrill, F.E.: Culture and Personality, New Jersey, 1958, p. 184.
 (c) Linton, R.: The Study of Man, New York, 1936, pp. 113-114.
 20) Davis, K.: Human Society, New York, 1966, p. 90.
 21) Parsons, T.: The Social System, London, 1964, p. 5.

reference. It is in the sense in which Parsons and Davis define "role" that the concept will be used in this study.

(ii) Status

The sociological usage of the term gives the word status two meanings. The first of these can be thought of simply as position. This is also the Latin meaning of the term. Every person who lives in society has a position or positions depending upon where he was born, what he does for a living, his sex, his age, his place in the family and in other groups. The second meaning is like the first, but only more limited. It depends on whether the status is high or low. It concerns itself with only the relative position on a vertical scale. Although Ogburn and Nimkoff start off by defining status simply as a position of the individual in the group, they go on to say that the term suggests on the one hand the idea of rank. According to them, a person's status is his group standing, or ranking in relation to others.²²⁾

Parsons, Linton, Merton and others²³⁾ also define the concept status, and their definitions bear the same meaning, namely that status is the positional aspect or where the actors are "located" in the interaction relationship which follows a definite pattern relative to other inter-active persons in the situation concerned. Parsons maintains that the participation of an actor in the patterned inter-active relationship in the social system has two principal aspects: the first of these is the positional aspect which indicates where the actor is located in the social system relative to other actors. In his own words he says: "This is what we call his status which is his place in the relationship system considered as a structure, that is a patterned system of parts."²⁴⁾

It is in the sense that Parsons defines status that it will be used in this study.

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- 22) Ogburn, W.F. and Nimkoff, M.F.: A Handbook of Sociology, London, 1956, p. 208.
- 23) (a) Parsons, T.: The Social System, Illinois, 1964, p. 25.
 (b) Linton, R. : The Study of Man, New York, 1936, pp. 113-114.
 (c) Merton, R.K.: Social Theory and Social Structure, Illinois, 1959, pp. 368, 378.
- 24) Parsons, T.: Op. cit., p. 25.

CHAPTER II

THE BACKGROUND OF THE NYASA HUSBANDS AND THEIR SOUTH AFRICAN BORN WIVES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR RESPECTIVE FAMILY SYSTEMS

2.1 The Geographical and Historical Background of the Nyasa Men Married to or Living with the South African Bantu Women.

According to Bruwer¹⁾ most tribes in Nyasaland, Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa are sections of a once powerful tribe, the Amalawi or Amaravi.

Theal maintains that the Malawi appears to have been a powerful and well-organized tribe, and further gives a description of the Maravi empire stretching from Quilimane to Mombasa.²⁾

To obtain a background picture of the Malawi men residing on the Zebediela Estates, a brief geographical and historical description of the dominant Malawi tribes, viz. the Nyanya, Yao, Cewa, Ngoni and a heterogeneous group, appears necessary. (Cf. Table 1.1.2, p. 2)

(a) The Nyanja Tribe

This group consists of the country's earliest known inhabitants whose language is closely related to that of the Sena and Tette people on the Zambesi and Loangwa. The origin of this tribe is uncertain according to Lawson.³⁾ In 1858, Livingstone found various branches of this tribe settled throughout South Nyasaland, and even today, the Nyanja are still settled at this place.

(b) The Yao Tribe

The Yao tribe, numbers of whom between 1860 and 1870 were driven southwards from their home in Portuguese East Africa by the neighbouring Amakua Walolo. These fugitive Yao fell upon the unwarlike Nyanja, conquered and subjugated their chiefs and finally settling among them, intermarried to a certain extent.⁴⁾

1) Bruwer, J.: "Note on Maravi Origin and Migration", African Studies, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1950, March, p. 32.

2) Theal, G.: History of South Eastern Africa, Vol. III, Capetown, p. 480.

3) Lawson, A.: "An Outline of the Relationship System of the Nyanja and Yao Tribes in South Nyasaland", African Studies, Vol. 8, No. 4, December, 1949, p. 180.

4) Lawson, A.: Ibid, p. 180.

Presently, the Yao and Nyanja occupy that part of Southern Malawi between the Chikala Range in the South, Mount Mangoele in the North, the Shire River to the West, and the Portuguese East Africa border to the East.

(c) The Cewa Tribe

Young maintains that the past history of the Cewa proves that they have ethnic affinities with one of the great mother tribes of Central Africa, the Nyanja or People of the Lakes, who in days gone by, were known as the Malawi or People of the Flames.⁵⁾

Bruwer says that the name Cewa is not recorded in the earlier writings of the Portuguese (of 1798)⁶⁾. It would, therefore, appear that the Cewa is of later origin than the Maravi, much in the same way as such names as Nyanja, Cipeta, Nsenga, Sena, etc. denote sections of the Maravi mother tribe.

Different explanations are given with regard to the origin of this tribe. Some say it originated at a hill Nceu in Nyasaland. Others state that it comes from Cawa, meaning the abode of Mkanda. As Bruwer says: "Cooley even gives the meaning of 'strangers' to it."⁷⁾ Whatever the difference, the fact is that the Cewa is one of the major tribes of the Malawi-speaking peoples, and has a common mother tribe like the Nyanja and the Yao.

Their present habitat is predominantly in the Central province of Malawi, the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia and the Tete district of Portuguese East Africa.

The Cewa included in this study are, however, only those who come from the Central province of Malawi.

(d) The Ngoni Tribe

The Ngoni tribe is a branch of the Zulu tribe whose flight from Chaka ended in settlement in Malawi and Portuguese East Africa. "In the Shire Highlands Ngoni are found only in small scattered groups for their real home is the 'Angoni Highlands' of Central Malawi."⁸⁾

5) Young, C.: "Kinship Among the Cewa of Rhodesia and Nyasaland", African Studies, Vol. 9, No. 1, March, 1950, p. 29.

6) Bruwer, J.: Op cit, p. 33.

7) Ibid, p. 33.

8) Lawson, A.: Op cit, p. 180.

(e) Other Tribes

Besides the four predominant Malawi tribes found at the Zebediela Estates, reference can be made with regard to an apparent link up of tribal identity among the Malawi tribes. The area from half-way down the East shore of Nyasa, through the Cewa, the Cipeta, the Dedza, the Nyanja, the Mang'anja, on to the Zambesi Country in the South and then eastwards into Zambia is "by no means homogeneous, tribally or linguistically, but culturally very similar."⁹⁾

The people forming the "other tribes" come from that part of Portuguese East Africa immediately to the East of Malawi. Culturally and in social make-up, they are similar to the Yao and Nyanja, being Matrilineal and Matrilocal and living in small kinship groups of Matrilineal kin. They include Cipeta, the Dedza people, Shirima, Tambuka, etc. "... and all these may obviously be classed as persons who speak Nyanja as their mother tongue."¹⁰⁾

From the above exposition the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. That the mother tribe of many sections found under different names in Malawi, Portuguese East Africa and Rhodesia today is the Maravi or Malawi or the "People of the Flames."
2. That the Maravi migrated southwards probably long before the 16th Century, settling along the West shore of Lake Nyasa.

2.2 The Family System in Malawi and its Distinctive Features.

While the majority of the Malawi tribes differ linguistically the three main tribes found at the Zebediela Estates, namely, the Yao, Cewa and Nyanja, are culturally very similar. "They are matrilineal, matrilocal; and have a traditional practice of bilateral cross-cousin marriage (i.e. marriage to the daughter of one's mother's brother, or equally, of one's father's sister), its ties of blood and affinity have become interdependent."¹¹⁾

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- 9) Mitchell, J.C.L.: "The Yao of Southern Nyasaland" in Colson, E. & Gluckman, M. (ed.): Seven Tribes of British Central Africa, p. 296.
- 10) Atkins, G.: "The Nyanja-speaking Population of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia", African Studies, Vol. 9, No. 1, March, 1950, p. 25.
- 11) Lawson, A.: Op cit, p. 181.

Of the main Malawi tribes referred to in this study only the pure Ngoni is patrilineal.

A. Marriage among the Matrilineal Tribes from which the Malawi men Predominant at the Zebediela Estates, originate.

Marriage among these tribes in its initial stages is predominantly uxori-local and husbands move to the abode of their wives.¹²⁾ There are village external and village internal marriages. Uxori-local residence should be conceived as referring to either the village of the wife or the section of her matrilineage within the same village as that of her husband. In the case of village external marriages, the village of the women receives sons-in-law. In the case of village internal marriages, the matrilineage section of the women receives sons-in-law. A woman may be removed to the village or village section of her husband. This is more often the case if the man is the senior guardian of his matrilineage.

For example, "Cewa marriage is characterized by the absence of valuable possessions passing from the wife-receiving to the wife-providing matrilineage."¹³⁾ This is the case with regard to the Nyanja and Yao. Tokens of goodwill are mutually given but have but little legal significance. The token which used to be a fowl or goat, has lately received legal status and today money is generally given by the husband. But the significance of this 'token' within the traditional code was much more of a ritual than a legal nature although the two concepts, as seen by Bruwer, cannot always be easily distinguished in Cewa Society.¹⁴⁾

The marriage negotiations do, however, include a probationary period of labour service rendered by the son-in-law to his parents-in-law.

The integrity of the matrilineage can never be influenced by either the 'token' or the labour. Both the woman and her children remain inalienable members of her matrilineage and the husband or his matrilineage does not attain rights over the children born of the marriage. The husband does obtain sexual rights and domestic service as far as his wife is concerned, but she is never incorporated into his matrilineage, neither is he incorporated

12) Bruwer, J.P.: "Unkhoswe: The System of Guardianship in Cewa Matrilineal Society", African Studies, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1955, p. 115.

13) Bruwer, J.P.: Ibid, p. 115.

14) Ibid, p. 115.

into her matrilineage. "Each remains under the jurisdiction of their respective matrilineages."¹⁵⁾

B. The Family System

The tribes belonging to Malawi-speaking peoples of the Lake Nyasa region are matrilineal. They have a common system of guardianship called Unkhoswe (by Yao), by which the integrity of members of the same matrilineage is stressed. These matrilineages comprise male and female members determining descent through a classification system of kinship from a common ancestress geneologically recognized and remembered.

The discussion below shows that the nature of the family system has a tremendous influence on the roles and status of its members.

(a) Status and Role of Husband

Within the matrilineage, male members act as guardians, especially with regard to the women and their children.¹⁶⁾ Among the Yao, Cewa and Nyanja, for example, the husband lives in a village with his mother-in-law, frequently in the very next hut to hers. He is by custom obliged in the early stages of marriage to avoid her and to treat his father-in-law with great respect.

The son-in-law is further expected to do all sorts of odd jobs for his mother-in-law. In a nutshell the position of the husband in a matrilineal family can be described as follows: "The husbands are drawn from other matrilineages belonging to different matriarchs and only act as seedraisers".¹⁷⁾ It follows that matrilineages are exogamous; the relative status of male members within the matrilineage is inherited by birth through their mothers and the rank sequence is always grandmother's brother on mother's side and her sisters' sons, the senior son of the senior sister in each generation being the senior guardian or potential senior guardian within the matrilineage; the relative role of the husband is that of a guardian to his wife and children.

As is pointed out by Richards the status and role of husband appears to be more or less the same in all matrilineal-matrilocal societies.¹⁸⁾

15) Ibid, p. 115.

16) Bruwer, J.P.: Ibid, p. 113.

17) Bruwer, J.P.: Op cit, p. 113.

18) Cf. Cohen, E and Gluckman, M.: Seven Tribes of British Central Africa, p. 328. Reference is made to an article by A.I. Richards: Mother-right among the Central Bantu, p. 267.

(b) The Status and Role of Wife

The structural framework of the matrilineage is conceptualized in the form of a hierarchical system in which rank and status permeate through females and projected on to males in both cases according to sequence of birth. The principle of seniority within matrilineage, permeates through women thus creating major and minor roles that again project their status on to their progeny. This principle gives rise to a matrilineage of segmentary nature, each section receiving its status from the originating matrix or breast.

Mention should be made of the fact that the wife remains an inalienable member of her matrilineage. (Cf. section A above with regard to the husband's position in this respect.)

The principle of matrilineage descent rules that the status and position of males are projected through females and a man's seniority or otherwise is therefore based upon the position of his mother within the geneological unit indicated here by the term matrilineage. Thus the position of males depends upon an inherited factor functioning within the matrilineage as a unit. "They act as guardians over the interests of their matrilineages which they themselves cannot perpetuate, but which are continued through the female co-members."¹⁹⁾

(c) Status and Role of Children and Relatives.Children

The matrilineal Malawi child belongs primarily to its mother's group; a boy inherits social and political status from his mother's brother, and a girl from her maternal grandmother. These relatives on the mother's side arrange the children's marriages and have throughout life more authority and influence over them than have the father and his group.

If a marriage is dissolved any children which resulted from it stay with their mother at her home village: their father, whether or not responsible for the breaking up of the home, has no claim on them. This is diametrically opposed to the South African Bantu tribes, which are patrilineal, the child belonging primarily to its father's family and the son

19) Bruwer, J.P.: Ibid, p. 116.

inheriting wealth, social status and sometimes political power from his father.

Relatives

The relationship of blood is the basis of the matrilineal Malawi village, especially the Nyanja.²⁰⁾ All members of a typical homestead are relatives or affines, (that is, connected by marriage), and the custom of matrilineal marriage determines that a man must live at the homestead of his wife's parents, usually for life, but at any rate for ten to twelve years and until he has proved himself a trustworthy son-in-law.

"Matrilocal marriage", according to Lawson, "produces homesteads of twenty, fifty, a hundred or more huts, where the small family as we understand it - man, wife and children - is merged in the larger unit. This unit consists of a man and his wife; their daughters and daughters' husbands; their unmarried sons; their daughters' daughters and sons-in-law; their daughters' unmarried sons, and so on down the generations."²¹⁾

The husband's relations with the male members of the matrilineal descent group in the village are no easier. Husbands are seen to be merely strangers. The husbands' relations with their brothers-in-law contain elements of conflict and of co-operation, rooted in their respective relationships with their common object of interest - the wife and sister.

The relationship between brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law is one of mutual respect and marriage between people who call each other by these terms is prohibited. Though we may term the formalized relationship between man and his wife's mother 'respectful', behind this screen, so Richards²²⁾ maintains, there lies an attitude of hostility or subordination; for example, a man is supposed to offer a chair to his wife's brother while he sits on the ground.

A husband in the village and his wife's brother co-operate in certain situations, especially those relating to the children born to the husband and his wife. They must both consult a diviner if the child falls ill. "It is to the wife's brother that a man looks for recompense if his wife's behaviour is not all that it should be."²³⁾ At the same

20) Lawson, A.: Op cit, p. 181

21) Lawson, A.: Op cit, p. 181.

22) Cf. Colson and Gluckman: Op cit, p. 329.

23) Ibid, p. 329.

time, however, it is to her brother that his wife appeals if she is dissatisfied with her husband's behaviour and the brother is often able to wield considerable power over the husband in this respect.

C. Distinctive Features of the Malawi Family System and its Main Characteristics.

From the above exposition the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. That the three tribes referred to, viz. the Nyanja, Yao and Cewa, are matrilineal and matrilocal. These matrilineages comprise male and female members determining descent through a classificatory system of kinship from a common ancestress genealogically recognized and remembered. Within the matrilineage, male members act as guardians, especially in regard to the women and their children, on the basis of avuncular power.
2. The structural framework of the matrilineage is conceptualized in the form of a hierarchical system in which rank and status permeate through females and are projected on to males, in both cases according to sequence of birth.
3. Since matrilineages are exogamous units, husbands are drawn from other matrilineages belonging to different matrisibs and only act as seedraisers. "These husbands remain integral members of their own matrilineages in which they may have guardian responsibilities."²⁴⁾ As a result of this, intermarrying matrilineages tend to reside together and mutually provide husbands and wives, thus giving rise to a system of preferential marriage which gives a connotation to the concept of cross-cousin unions. Preferential cross-cousin marriages can be seen as "symmetric" and both males and females are mutually interdependent leading to this interdependence of matrilineages.

2.3 The Geographical and Historical Background of the South African Bantu Women Married to or Living with the Malawi Men.

Table 1.1.3 (p. 3) provides a picture of the numerical distribution of

24) Bruwer, J.P.: "Unkhoswe: The system of Guardianship in Cewa Matrilineal Society", African Studies, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1955, p. 113.

the South African Bantu women married to the migrant Malawi at the Estates. All these women, with the exception of the Gomari, originate from the Transvaal with the Matebele women in the majority - 123 in number.

The interviews showed that all the Ndebele women originate from the Potgietersrust district. They or their parents are residents of the following Bantu reserves: Mokopane, Mashashane, Rakgwatha and Ledwaba.

Of the 47 Pedi women, two originate from the district of Middelburg in the Sekhukhune reserve and one comes from the Ramokgopa location next to Soekmekaar. The rest originate from different parts of the Pietersburg district, namely from the Molepo, Dikgale, Mphahlele, Matlala, Moletsi and Malebogo Bantu reserves. The first three are situated East of the town of Pietersburg and the remaining three in the West thereof.

The 18 Tsonga women originate from the Louis Trichardt and Potgietersrust districts. The three Swazi women come from the district of Lydenburg. The two Zulu women come from the Rand and the two Tswana women from the Rustenburg district in the Western Transvaal. The two Venda women come from Sibasa, whereas the two Gomari women and one Yao woman are from Malawi.

The first of the female workers to come to the Estate came from the neighbouring Bantu locations of Mogoto, Moletlane, Ledwaba and Rakgwatha already referred to above. They were chiefly engaged as workers in the orchards - watering and weeding. These first workers, mainly of Ndebele origin, stayed at their homes outside the Estates and had to walk between their respective homes and the Estates daily. At this time the Estates did not have married quarters or a female compound, and this state of affairs prevailed up to the early twenties of this century.

At work in the orchards, they worked with Malawi migrant men. The first cohabitation with the Malawi men resulted from this contact in the orchards. At this time, however, the Malawi men had to live with these women at their homes outside the Estates. In the middle thirties, when the company replaced white women packers by Bantu women packers, Bantu girls were recruited from their different homelands to pack oranges at the Estates. Although unmarried girls constituted the largest number of packers, there were among them divorced, widowed and deserted women. A separate compound for these women was eventually built at the Estates. These recruits constituted the second group of women who cohabitated with the Malawi migrant men

and it was mostly the widowed, the divorced, the separated and the deserted who cohabitated with them.

Some of the girls were, however, already "betrothed" to young men in their own homelands and therefore looked forward to a marriage with men of their own tribe. It is probably this fact that militated against their cohabitation with Malawi men.

The third group of women who cohabitated with Malawi men at the Estates consisted of women who met the Malawi men prior to their employment at the Estates. Most of these women met their Malawi husbands at the mines (e.g. the 2 Zulu women) and on farms in the Northern Transvaal (e.g. the 3 Gomani women). When these men were discharged from these mines and farms their wives accompanied them when they took up employment at the Estates.

2.4 The Family System in the Homeland of the South African Bantu and its Distinctive Features.

A. The Nature of Marriage

In the homelands of these South African women, marriage is accomplished by the transfer of some form of material wealth such as cattle by the bridegroom, or his family acting on his behalf to the bride's father or guardian. This transfer is customary, and is known as Lobola or Magadi, and is followed either by customary wedding celebrations or by the women going to live with the man as his wife with her guardian's consent. "Payment of the 'magadi' or in some tribes agreement to pay it", says Schapera "is generally held to be adequate legal proof of the marriage."²⁵⁾ Schapera further says that "no form of cohabitation between a man and a woman is held to be a marriage unless it is accompanied by the transfer of, or the formal contract to transfer the magadi."²⁶⁾

In case the marriage breaks up, through the husband's fault, it is, broadly speaking, the wife's family who retains the magadi, and the husband's family lose their interest in it. If it is the wife who is at fault, then the magadi should be returned to the husband's family. In the latter case, it is possible that if the wife goes back to her own family and the lobola

25) Schapera, I.: "Premarital Pregnancy and Native Opinion: A Note on Social Change", Africa, Vol. VI No. 1., January, 1933, p. 59.

26) Ibid, p. 62.

or magadi is returned to the husband's family, the children of the marriage may be transferred to the wife's family.

B. The Family System

As indicated in Table 1.1.3 all the Bantu tribes in South Africa are patrilineal.*) The child belongs primarily to its father's family and the son inherits wealth, social status and sometimes political power from and through his father.

(a) The Status and Role of the Husband

In every family of the South African Bantu, the role and status of each member are clearly defined. The seniority principle plays a very important role on all terrains of Bantu family life. Seniority is determined by sex and age. In general, the male person always occupies a senior status to a female. Eloff says the following in this connection:

"In die vaderregtelike maatskappy van die Bantoe is 'n manlike persoon maatskaplik die senior van 'n vroulike persoon; 'n broer is dus die senior van enige suster, ongeag die ouderdom. Tussen persone van dieselfde geslag word senioriteit veral volgens die relatiewe ouderdom bereken; onder kinders van dieselfde moeder is 'n ouer broer dus altyd die senior van 'n jongere."²⁷⁾

It therefore follows that the husband is the most senior member of the family. His seniority can only be inferior to that of his father if the latter is still alive.

It is noteworthy that a man is never freed from the paternal power to which he is subject during the life-time of his father. His authority is therefore not an unlimited one. Should the father predecease his son, the latter becomes responsible to his paternal grandfather, if living. Great stress is laid on paternal power by the traditional Bantu. The teaching of this is one of the tenets of the initiation schools. The men rigidly uphold the superiority over their women folk; the latter accept this state of affairs as "natural".

*) The Gomani and Yao tribes originate from Malawi and are matrilineal.
 27) Eloff, J.F.: "n Volkekundige studie van aanpassing en ontwikkeling in die gesinslewe van die naturelle van Atteridgeville" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Pretoria, 1952), p. 46.

The Status and Role in Relation to the Wife

Clerc says that "payment of lobola gives the husband the title and functions of head of the conjugal union and of the family."²⁸⁾ He sets up his village as he thinks fit. According to custom, he may in certain conditions take a second or third wife without the consent of the first one.

The status of the husband is further enhanced above that of his wife as result of the practice whereby the wife takes the name of the husband after marriage and also by the custom of patrilocal marriage. The husband exercises an absolute authority over his wife, and represents her at court and on spiritual matters. In other words, the wife remains a minor under the custody of her husband.

The Status and Role in Relation to Children

The man who has paid the lobola is considered to be the father of all his wife's children.

The children are under his custody and as guardian, he, in turn, expects absolute obedience and humility from them. This expectation does not only apply to the unmarried children, but also to those married.

Schapera maintains that the father has comparatively little to do for or with the children during their early youth. His personal dealings with them never involves such intimate services as are required of the mother. His duties lie more or mostly in the region of household management and public life. When children are born, he formally recognizes them as his by giving them names of his choice.²⁹⁾

In the spheres of education and discipline, the father has more to do with the boys than with the girls. The boys learn most of the life patterns expected of them as adults from their father.

When the sons get married, the father pays lobola on their behalf and helps them to obtain a place of residence and (a) place(s) for the cultivation of crops and the grazing of cattle. In the case of girls, he receives the

28) Clerc, A.: "The Marriage Laws of the Ronga Tribe," Bantu Studies, Vol. XII, June, 1938, No. 6, pp. 75-104.

29) Schapera, I.: Married Life in an African Tribe, p. 245.

lobola which becomes part of his property.

In the traditional society, the father is also responsible for communicating with the ancestors on behalf of his children.

The Status and Role in Relation to Relatives

The status of a son is always inferior to that of his father. It follows that as long as his father is still alive, he must subject himself to his authority. Implicitly, it means that his father's status is above that of his mother.

A son-in-law has some duties or obligations to perform in respect to his parents-in-law. Although no intimate relationship exists between a man and his parents-in-law, a man is expected to respect the in-laws, and render assistance wherever this is possible and necessary, for example with the building of a dwelling, the cultivation of crops and the like.

(b) The Status and Role of the Wife

The Status and Role in Relation to the Family as a Whole

When the wife stays with her in-laws, her status is much lower than when she stays alone.³⁰⁾

Her role includes economic maintenance of the household and the fields. Today, some wives even take up employment in order to augment the family income.

The status of the wife in the case of a polygamous union is determined by the ranking of the wives. If she is the first wife the daughter of her husband's uncle or as is the case among the Pedi, a daughter of the husband's paternal uncle, her status is above that of the other wives in the same family. If she marries last, her status will be lower than the other wives in the family.

The Status and Role in Relation to the Husband

The wife is always legally dependent upon her husband. She cannot as a rule resort to the tribal courts except through him as her representative, and if she does wrong or falls into debt, he is liable for any payments that

30) Schapera, I.: Op cit, p. 103.

must be made. Schapera says that "she cannot bind herself to any contracts without his approval, she must live wherever he chooses to build his home and she must obey all his commands."³¹⁾

In spite of her legal subjection, her status is slightly enhanced by the establishment of their own household, for she acquires a new authority in domestic affairs. She is responsible for the care of the home and she can entertain friends and visitors more freely than before and in time she will have her children and other dependents to work under her supervision.

If she maliciously deserts the husband, she forfeits all the children and the husband is entitled to recover his cattle which he paid in lobola to her parents or guardian(s). A wife cannot bring a case of desertion against her husband according to the custom of the South African Bantu. If, however, a man drives away his wife from his home for no just reason, it is regarded as a very grave action and he forfeits all rights to the woman and the children of the marriage and cannot reclaim the lobola paid by him.

If the husband deserts his wife, his family, in order not to lose the children of the marriage will always endeavour to provide a substitute, e.g. the brother of the callous husband. If the wife refuses to assent to this arrangement, every endeavour is made to thrust the guilt of desertion upon her, on the grounds of her refusal to cohabit with her husband's substitute representative. A woman is allowed very little latitude in such matters. Harries says in this regard that

"..... a woman who has been maliciously deserted by her husband is always blamed as being the cause of the desertion; she is jeered at by other women and scorned by the men who say she must be diseased otherwise her husband would not have left her."³²⁾

Among the South African patrilineal tribes, the infidelity of the wife is not looked upon as an unpardonable offence against society and in certain circumstances it is even considered justifiable. When the husband is away in town, and it is time for his wife to get another child, she is entitled to bear a child by some other person, if she feels so inclined. In such cases, it is considered that the husband's negligence has warranted her unfaithfulness. In any case, the real husband is regarded as the father of the child -

31) Schapera, I.: Ibid, p. 103.

32) Harries, C.L.: The Laws and customs of the Bapedi and cognate tribes of the Transvaal, Johannesburg, 1929, pp. 20-21.

the general principle being that women beget children and not men.

A status of a woman in her husband's home always changes with the years. Developing from dependency to responsibility.

A woman who is a doctor may own considerable property of her own in goats and cattle. When her daughter gets married, she has a great say in the disposal of the bridal price. When a young man marries, his mother is the dominating figure in his household.

The Status and Role in Relation to Children

During the first years of life, the mother plays a much more important role in the lives of the children than their father, because they live intimately with her. In other words, the whole burden of child-rearing rests mainly upon the mother.

Regarding the daughters, this care offered by the mother continues until they get married. She teaches them household activities and is responsible for sex education.

From the above brief exposition it becomes evident that the mother has the biggest share in her children's early education.

(c) The Status and Role of the Children

There is little personal contact between the father and his young children who in turn are always in company of children of their own age. The father keeps his distance, yet he is the personification of many ideals.

The children treat their father with the highest respect. The mother on the other hand is tied to the children with chains of love. "It is expected of children to listen to their mother and respect her."³³⁾

There are certain relationships which children have to maintain. These relationships are based on seniority. The younger brothers listen to their elder brothers and carry out their instructions. The seniority of a brother is determined purely by age and not because his mother is the senior (in case of polygamy). This is also the case with the sisters.

33) Van Zyl, H.J.: Bakgatla ba gaMoseitlha, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, p. 63.

In many Bantu tribes, boys and girls can only be admitted to the status of adults after they have gone through the initiation school.

The sons have a higher status in the family than the daughters. The status is in accordance with age. The eldest son has a higher status than his younger brothers. The second in rank is the one who is second in birth. The youngest brother has the lowest status, although he is usually the most liked by the parents. Eloff says the following in connection with the status of the eldest son:

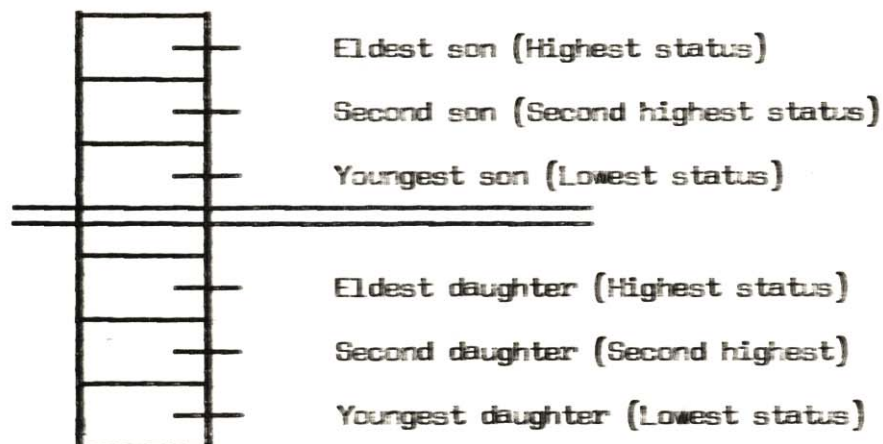
"Wanneer die vader afwesig is, neem die oudste seun sy plek in, en dié word dan behandel asof hy die gesinshoof is."³⁴⁾

Although the girls have inferior status to the boys in the family irrespective of ages, the status difference between them is also determined by age. The most senior by age has the highest status among the other younger sisters. The second in age is the second highest in status. The youngest by age is usually the lowest in status although she is the favourite. In the absence of the mother, the senior daughter enacts the role of the mother. All the young sisters then depend on her for their household necessities.

The differences in status between the children as based on age and sex, can be diagrammatically presented in the following way:

Diagram 2.4.1

(Family consisting of three boys and three girls)



34) Eloff, J.F.: Op cit, p. 48.

As can be concluded the difference in status between boys and girls is based purely on sex, whereas status in each sex group is based on age. The difference in status between parents and children can be diagrammatically presented as follows:

Diagram 2.4.2

		Highest Status	
		Parents	Children
A	Father		E
B			F
C	Mother		G
D			H
		Lowest Status	

As can be concluded from the above diagram, the father has the highest status in the family. The second status is that of the sons. The mother ranks third in status and the daughters fourth. The father's status area covers A and B. In his absence, his sons fill area B. Their status area in his absence cover area A in the diagram. When he is dead, they fill area E, which is not identical but on par with area A.

The mother's status area covers C and D. In her absence, the eldest daughter's status covers area D. When she is dead, her role covers area G.

According to Mönig the status differentiation between parents in the Bantu family is as follows:

"Children derive their status from their father through their mother, in other words, children within a compound family derive their relative status amongst themselves from the seniority or inferiority of their mother, whilst their status as compared with that of children of other families depends on the status of their father."³⁵⁾

35) Mönig, H.O.: "The Structure of the Lobedu Social and Political Organization," African Studies, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1963, pp. 49-64.

Role differentiation also exists between boys and girls. The boys when still young, help their fathers whereas the girls are inclined to help their mothers.

(d) Distinctive Features of this Family System and its Main Characteristics.

From the above discussion the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. Among the Bantu tribes of the Transvaal, it has been found that the Lobola or Magadi payment serves as a legal contract and solemnizes marriage between a man and a woman.
2. In the family, the wife occupies a lower status than the husband who occupies the senior position; the latter plays a very important role at all levels, ranging from family authority to child rearing.
3. Males generally occupy a higher status than females. Within each sex group age seniority determines status seniority.
4. Most of the Bantu Tribes are patrilineal, the child belonging primarily to its father's family and the son inheriting wealth, social status and sometimes political power from his father.

Summary

From the above exposition it is apparent that there is a vast difference between the Malawi family system and the South African Bantu family system. The former is matrilineal and the latter is patrilineal. These basic differences have an influence upon the status and role of different members of the family.

CHAPTER III

3.1 The Contact Between the Malawi Matriarchal and the South African Patriarchal Family Systems at the Zebediela Estates.

The Malawi men, many of whom left their homeland for South Africa when they were in their teens had either left their wives in Malawi or, if not married, cohabitated with women wherever they settled - Table 1.1.5 (p. 5) clearly indicates their previous marital status.

As shown in Table 1.1.1 (p. 2) the present type of "union" effected by these men is cohabitation rather than legitimate marriage, whether in terms of Bantu custom or Christian or civil rites. Further, as the data in Table 1.1.4 (p. 4) shows, mostly women who either had illegitimate children or those who were widowed, deserted or separated, were the objectives of the Malawi men.

There were several factors that encouraged "marriage" between the South African women and Malawi men. For instance, when the company decided to establish married quarters on the Estates, this move was not welcomed by the South African men who were employed at the Estates, for these men had their homes in the neighbourhood where they could spend their week-ends. Also, according to the Pedi and Ndebele customs women are not supposed to mix with men at work, and as the Pedi and Ndebele regarded the Estates as the place of employment they were therefore not prepared to live permanently with their wives on the Estates. Because of these beliefs, the establishment of married quarters was an event that was not appreciated by the South African men - they were decidedly reluctant to make use of these "housing" facilities.

On the other hand, the Malawi men, because of the geographical distance, could not easily get back to their homelands in Malawi where most of them had - practically permanently - left their families.¹⁾

With the availability of suitable accommodation, cohabitation with the South African Bantu women on the Estates became possible on a large scale

1) The interviews with the Malawi men showed that though the first "temporary" migrants came to South Africa in the 1920-s the majority "settled" here during the period 1931 - 50. In addition it became apparent that because of poor transport facilities and their own poor economic circumstances most of the Malawi men came to South Africa on foot.

for the Malawi men. This resulted in the establishment of families made up of parties with contrasting backgrounds with regard to family systems, namely the matrilineal and patrilineal systems.

One informant says that the company had realized that the South African men were not eager to live with their families in the married quarters provided on the Estates, hence the recruitment of (more) Malawi men. The informant says that in recruiting these Malawi men reference was made to good wages, ample rations, good housing and many unattached women in the neighbourhood. According to the same informant, it was obvious that the greatest attraction was the abundance of women in the vicinity.

The Malawi men had some handicaps in making love to the South African women especially because of language difficulties. Malawi men made use of a "compound" language namely "fanakalo" or "sethathalapha". Although most of the South African women could not grasp this language immediately they eventually did get a general idea of what was being said. To augment this type of communication the Malawi men used to organize themselves into groups of ten each - a sort of company - for the purpose of capturing the love of those women. At the end of the month, they surrendered their wages to a group member who at that time was making love to a woman in the neighbouring village. This money was then changed into one pound (later rand) notes and pinned on the walls of the room occupied by the member who was an aspiring suitor to a woman. After the decoration of the room in this manner, the suitor would invite the woman concerned to visit him in the compound. On arrival at the compound, the woman was invited into the room where the walls were decorated with money. Obviously the woman was astounded at the amount of money pinned on the walls. When she asked why the money was being displayed in that manner, she was told that this was the custom in their homeland; they, in turn, expressed "surprise" at the way in which money was being used in this country. On leaving the room the woman was offered some notes as to enable her to decorate her own house in a similar fashion. On returning home this woman would spread the news of a foreign tribe at the Estates compound which did not know the value of money. The result of this "news" was that other women also made attempts to capture the love of these men from whom they hoped to obtain money.

Another factor which made it possible for unions between the Malawi men and South African women to take place was the fact that normally there were

more women than men at the villages, because the men had to seek employment in the big cities like Johannesburg and Pretoria. This was the position at the neighbouring villages of Mogoto and Moletlane. Most of these women were without adequate support and many of them readily decided to "attach" themselves to the Malawi men and live with them in the compounds.

The influx of women into the compound brought about a feeling of jealousy and hatred between the South African men on the one hand and the Malawi men on the other. In 1925 this feeling of animosity between those men living in the single quarters culminated in a skirmish.²⁾

As a result of the disturbances rondavel units for "married" couples were erected at the Estates, no longer adjoining the single quarters but apart from them. This new "housing situation" was also a contributory factor to (more) unions taking place between Malawi men and the unattached women from the Mogoto and Moletlane villages who worked on the Estates but had no accommodation there.

Another practice which facilitated the contact between the Malawi men and the South African women - and referred to earlier - was the employment of Bantu women as packers in the place of the White women workers. The Bantu women packers came from the districts of Pietersburg and Potgietersrus. The majority of these women packers, were Ndebele and Pedi (Cf. Table 1.1.3). Among these women there were many who had left their husbands in their homelands, or those who were divorced, separated or deserted. It is noteworthy again that especially the "neglected" and the widowed packers cohabitated with the Malawi men at the Estates (Cf. Table 1.1.4).

The Type of Marriage Concluded

As indicated in Table 1.1.1 the type of marriage or union found most frequently among the Malawi men at the Zebediela Estates is concubinage.

In the first instance these unions were not accomplished according to the procedure to which the Bantu in South Africa are accustomed. As explained earlier (Ch. 2.4, pp. 25-26) the Bantu marriage is characterized by lobola. Of the 100 cases interviewed, however, only 14 Malawi men paid the lobola.

2) The police were called upon to quell the unrest. However, a number of people were killed and many sustained serious injuries.

In this respect it becomes clear that the majority of such unions are not in line with the South African patrilineal Bantu customs. To the Malawi men who did not pay lobola, the union, however, still remains normal as the practice of lobola is unknown in their matrilineal marital system, and secondly according to their matrilineal customs the selection of a marriage partner is the responsibility of the young suitor. This is not the case among the patrilineal South African Bantu. Here, the parents have a major role to play, including that of suggesting or even compelling their son to marry someone else.

Because most of the South African Bantu women referred to above were widowed, deserted, separated or neglected, they married the Malawi men without the consent of their parents, for their primary aim, as pointed out earlier, was financial support and security.

It is clear from the above exposition that the women who cohabitated with the Malawi men at the Estates were all persons who were in some state of financial dependency or were living in distressing circumstances. They either had illegitimate children or were widowed, divorced, separated or deserted. As can be seen from Table 1.1.4 very few of these unions were first marriages.

From the discussion above it is apparent that the Malawi men had little or no contact with their family of origin in Malawi. The South African Bantu women - except where some of their children are being taken care of by their own parents - also have little or no direct contact with their family of origin in their homeland.

CHAPTER IV

THE FAMILY SYSTEM RESULTING FROM THE UNION BETWEEN MALAWI MEN AT THE ZEBEDIELA ESTATES WITH SOUTH AFRICAN BORN BANTU WOMEN, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROLES OF THE VARIOUS FAMILY MEMBERS.

4.1 The Nature of the Family and its Distinctive Characteristics

The family of the Malawi men and South African Bantu women is a nuclear one and like all nuclear families consists of the husband, his wife and their dependent children. As polygamy is not practiced, there is no compound family. As already stated in Chapter III the husband has broken contact with his family of origin in his homeland - to a limited extent this is also the case with regard to the wife. The fact that family rondavel units at the Estates are allotted only to the men who are in the service of the Estates, has eliminated the consanguineal family group.

Each nuclear family occupies a three rondavel unit in a section village. This makes the family unit more easily identifiable.

The nuclear family has no contact with the family of the husband because of the geographical distance between Malawi and the Estates. When the husbands of these nuclear families were asked why they had lost contact with their families of origin, they mentioned distance, lack of funds, lack of parents in Malawi and the fact that they have families on the Estates, as reasons thereof. Unemployment in Malawi was also mentioned as a reason for severing ties with the homeland and the adoption of South Africa as a new home.

The wife in this family is a woman who left her nearby homeland to work on the Estates. The majority of these women who became attached to the Malawi men were either divorced, neglected, separated, widowed or unmarried mothers. The distance between the Estates and their homelands is, however, geographically insignificant. Contact between the nuclear family of the Malawi men and that of the wife's family is therefore possible. Although such contact does occasionally take place, the mere fact that the Malawi family is located on the Estates away from that of the wife's parents causes it to be a structurally isolated nuclear family.

Characteristics of the Structural Isolation

A common practice in the Malawi family at the Estates is to send older children either to the mother's parents or more often to the wife's brother (the maternal uncle to the children). Some Malawi men even build additional huts at their in-laws' or maternal uncles' dwellings to make provision for the accommodation of these older children who are then fostered by their in-laws or by the brothers-in-law. It follows that the children of this nuclear family are therefore not all sharing a common abode but are often separated.

Like all other structurally isolated nuclear families, the nuclear family of the migrant Malawi constitutes a household which is economically independent and is mainly maintained by the income of the husband. In cases where the wife is also employed however, her income is usually not used to augment that of the husband, but goes to support her parents, if still alive. This phenomenon is not common in structurally isolated nuclear families, hence this is a unique feature of the family of the migrant Malawi.

The structurally isolated family at the Zebediela Estates is more important for the husband than his family of origin. The wife of the migrant Malawi, however, does not attach great importance to her family of procreation - she attaches more importance to her family of origin than her own nuclear family. She considers her family of procreation merely as a production factory for children who do not belong to it but to that of her family of origin. The reason for this is twofold - firstly, the migrant Malawi did not pay lobola, and therefore, she feels that she still belongs to her parents; in the second place she feels that as the older children are in the care of her parents or brother these children should be financially supported by her and her husband.

The migrant Malawi husband on the other hand, has very little or no contact at all with his family of origin. He has, therefore, no other family which he can consider as a home except that one at the Estates. As a result, he attaches great importance to his own family at the Estates.

In most cases, the structural isolation of a nuclear family leads to an adoption of a bilateral attitude towards descent. This however, is not the case with the structurally isolated family of the migrant Malawi at the Zebediela Estates. In this family, a unilateral attitude towards descent is

adopted. The wife in this family does not know the parents of and the homeland of her husband. In some cases, the wives know their husbands by first names only. They do not bother to know their surnames. The children adopt the family name of the mother's parents and in fact speak the language of the mother only.

Matriarchal Features

The majority of families are matrilocal. The family of the migrant Malawi at the Zebediela Estates is quasi-patrilocal by residence. The wife in this family does not, however, consider this family as her home. She considers herself a member of her parents' family. However, her children are considered to belong to the family of their maternal uncle. This is a matriarchal characteristic in the family of the migrant Malawi at the Estates.

The research has revealed a certain tendency towards matrilocal residence. Most of the Malawi men settle with their wives on the Estates, but some of them do erect dwellings next to or close to the wife's parents. Malawi men who do this go to the Estates daily for work but return to their homes outside the Estates every evening.

A section of Moletlane (a neighbouring village) is known as New Blantyre because of the preponderance of Malawi families in this section of the community. These families consist of people who were formerly resident on the Estates. They left the Estates in order to join the parents of the wife or at least to be next to them. This is a matriarchal tendency towards a matrilocal residence.

Authority in the Family

The authority in the family at the Estates is divided between the husband and wife and the compound manager. The husband, as the official occupier of the house has an undisputed authority over all matters relating to it. The wife or any other member of the family may not bring in any person to stay in the house without the approval of the husband.

Most wives - 77 out of the 100 families interviewed - report every important event or occurrence to the husband for his information, decision or approval.

The wife, however, has authority in certain matters. (Cf. Tables 4.1.1,

4.1.2 and 4.1.3). The husband, for instance may not take any important action or step without the approval of his wife. If the wife forbids the husband from taking certain steps he must obey. In 85 out of the 100 families included in the sample, the husbands obtain the approval of their wives for all actions taken by them.

In most cases, when the husband and wife fail to settle a dispute between them, it is taken to the compound manager for final settlement. If they fail to comply with the decision of the compound manager, the manager has the authority to break the union between the spouses or to expel the woman from the section village if he thinks she is the guilty party.

Of the 99 women who have thus far had reason to become dissatisfied with the behaviour of their husbands 6 have not complained to any authority, 16 have reported to certain of the husband's fellow Malawians, 30 to their own family of origin and 47 to the compound manager.

Thus far, 52 men have reported the misbehaviour of their wives to the compound manager, 16 reported to the wife's family, 22 to certain of their fellow-Malawians and 10 have had no reason to report.

Of the aforementioned sources of authority or arbitration over husband and wife, the compound manager appears to be the most important.

Descent

The families trace descent differently from each other. There are families which trace descent patrilineally. These can be divided into two groups:

Group A:

Those families where the mothers already had children before their present marriage, trace descent through their blood father, provided that the children were not born out of wedlock.

Group B:

Those families where a) the children trace their descent through their present father, who may be the blood father or the adoptive father; b) the children trace descent matrilineally. Here there are two sub-groups, viz. i) families wherein the mothers came with illegitimate children and where

the children trace descent through the mother; and ii) families where no lobola was paid for the wives and as a result, the children are considered as the mother's and descent of the children is traced through her.

Of the 100 women included in the sample 76 have not adopted the names of their husbands after the union. They have either retained their former husbands' names or their maiden names. In 51 families out of 100 included in the sample, the children consider themselves as belonging to the mother's tribe and only in 24 families to the father's tribe. 18 identify themselves with the tribe of their former fathers.

On the whole, children see themselves more as members of their mothers' ethnic group than their fathers'.

Inheritance

(a) In Respect to the Husband's Property

Inheritance at the Estates is influenced to a large extent by the fact whether lobola was paid at marriage or not. The interviews have proved that all of the 22 families in which marriage was contracted after the lobola was paid, patrilineal inheritance will take place. In these families, the sons are the inheritors of their father's property at his death (of intestato).

Where lobola was not paid at marriage, inheritance takes place on a different basis. In some families the wife is the inheritor in the case of the husband's death. 16 families out of the sample of 100 (will) follow this procedure. 4 families who have no sons, referred to daughters as the obvious inheritors of the family property. Most men - 52 in number - who did not pay lobola want their property to be inherited by their fellow-Malawians at the Estates.

In the families where lobola was paid, the property of the wife and that of the husband is considered as one - there is a community of property - and therefore to be inherited by one person whoever that person may be.

(b) In Respect of the Mother's Property

In the families where lobola has not been paid, the property of the wife is separate from that of her husband. In 75% of these families, at the death of the wife, her property will be inherited by her daughters; in

the remaining 25% of the families the property will go to the sons. On the whole, therefore, mothers prefer their property to be inherited by their daughters and not by their sons.

Of the 24 cases where the son will be the inheritor, all were found to be families in which lobola had been paid. It can, therefore, be concluded that in almost every family where lobola was not paid, property inheritance - the wife's property - will be matrilineal.

Ownership of Property

Among the 100 families included in the sample there were 25 families in which wives possess houses in their homeland - 15 of these wives were widowed before they married the Malawi men at the Estates, and their houses were built in the name of their late husbands. The remaining 10 women who had houses built - in their maiden name - were unmarried mothers prior to their present marriage.

Most of the Malawi husbands - 19 out of the 25 - of the women who own houses in their homeland have never seen these homes. It was further found that the women who own houses in their homeland also own all movable property in these houses. They are also responsible for the maintenance of the occupants of these houses, usually their own children, their parents and/or some other relative.

The women who do not own houses outside the Estates usually own little or no property. The three rondavel-unit which is provided by the Estates for each family, is given in the name of the husband. The husband, therefore, is legally responsible for the dwelling. In most of these rondavels, the husband owns the furniture and other property. In only 7 cases did the wives own furniture.

Residence

The families are well aware that the Estates is not their permanent home. They stay at the Estates only as long as the men are employed there. Considerable differences exist between the family members with regard to the place they actually consider to be their permanent home. For example, the majority of the women (69) consider the homeland of their parents as their permanent home, whereas 27 women, for whom lobola was paid at marriage, see

their husband's homeland as their permanent home. Only 4 women consider their former husband's homeland as their permanent home.

Although 76 of the men frequent their wives' homes outside the Estate, only 9 out of the 100 men in the sample consider their wife's homeland as their own permanent home.

With regard to the children it appears that in 69 families they consider their mothers' homeland as their permanent home. In only 6 families do children consider their fathers' homeland as their permanent home. In 7 families children regard the Estates as their permanent home and in another 8 families they consider the homeland of their mothers' former husbands as their permanent home.

The children in the remaining 10 families were too small at the time of the investigation to know which place they considered as their permanent home.

47 of the families included in the sample have children who work outside the Estates. In 29 of these families the children were found to go to their mother's home when they were on leave and only 18 visited their parents' dwelling at the Estates.

Division of Household Duties in the Family

Table 4.1.1 provides data with regard to the division of household duties in the family.

TABLE 4.1.1

The Division of Household Duties in the Family

Nature of Duties	Husband	Wife	Both	Children	Yes	No	Total
Purchase of groceries for the family	34	66					100
Budgeting for the family	40	59	1				100
Cleaning of the house	5	90	5				100
Cooking and drawing water		100					100
Main Breadwinner for family	100						100
Contributory bread-winner(s)		12		27			39*)

*) 11 families were either childless or the children were too young to contribute.

As can be deduced from the above Table the husband is the main breadwinner in all cases. However, 12 of the 100 mothers and 27 children also contribute to the family income.

Because it is generally believed by both the South African Bantu women and the Malawi men that the husband should be the sole breadwinner of the family, women of such families are usually reluctant to assist their husbands in order to augment the family income. This feeling of not assisting the father in this respect, is extended to the children. It is necessary to mention here that only a few of the children who were working were employed at the Estates.

Whereas the mothers are responsible for cooking and the drawing of water (100%) and the cleaning of the house (90%), a considerable number of husbands are responsible for the purchase of groceries (34%) and budgeting for the family (40%).

Discipline

Table 4.1.2 refers to the application of discipline in the family.

According to the data in the said Table, it can be concluded that in general, the wife plays a greater part in the disciplining of the children than the father. Observation has also shown that, on the whole, the children are more attached to the mother than to the father.

On the other hand, where coercion is required, the father plays a prominent role. For example, 64% of the cases maintain that the father takes responsibility for the misbehaviour of the children. Also 55% of the cases hold the father to be responsible for the punishment of children.

The data in the said Table also show that all the children are bound to incline towards the maternal family, as almost 80% of the husbands have lost contact with their own families or relatives.

TABLE 4.1.2

Persons Responsible for the Application of Discipline in the Family

Nature of Tasks	Father	Mother	Both Mother and Father	Mother's Brother	Mother's Parents	Relatives of the former father	Father's Relative or other persons	Childless Families and very young children	Total
1. Party who sees to it that children help with work at home	34	50		3	4			9	100
2. Party who decides whether children may play with others or not	19	69		1	5	2		4	100
3. Party who is responsible for the punishment of children	55	33		6	3	2		1	100
4. Party who commends children for good deeds done		30	58	3	3	2		4	100
5. Party who takes responsibility for the misbehaviour of children	64	18		8				10	100
6. Party who decides whether children may take up employment or not	3	3	61 ^{*)}	8	3	2		10	100

*) This figure refers to parents who will decide when the situation arises

It is also apparent that where the mother and father cannot or do not decide on some aspect of discipline, certain of the mother's relatives take over their task in this respect. Questions 2, 4, 5 and 6 in Table 4.1.2 for example, show that the mother's brother, her parents and even the relatives of her former husband take over these "duties" under such circumstances.

The great geographical distance between Malawi and the Estates is perhaps mainly responsible for the non-featuring of the father's relatives in the aforementioned regard.

It may be concluded, therefore, that as far as the application of discipline over the children is concerned, the mother exercises more influence (over the children) than the husband, and the latter's authority comes to the fore more in situations where coercion or compulsion is necessary.

Persons Approached by the Children for Affection

Table 4.1.3.

TABLE 4.1.3

Persons Approached by the Children for Affection

Nature of Affection and Related Matters	Mother	Father	Both Father and Mother	Mother's Brother	Mother's Parents	Relatives of the former father	No Person at all or not applicable	Total
1. In whom do the children confide	89	10	1					100
2. Whom do the children approach in the event of minor injuries and related complaints?	87	9	2	2				100
3. Whom do the children approach for clothing, school fees and related matters?	28	72						100
4. If not at school or not working what adults do children spend most of their time with?	89		2	9				100
5. What person is responsible for the recreational activities of the children?	86	7	1	4	1		1	100
6. If the children attend church/sunday school, who accompanies them?	29	14	12	2			43	100

The data in the above Table point out that in the large majority of cases the children approach the mother for affection. For example, 89% of the children confide in their mother; 87% report minor injuries and related matters to her; 89% spend most of their leisure time with her; in 86% of the cases the mother is responsible for organizing their recreational activities; and in 29% of the cases the mother accompanies the children to church or Sunday school.

Although it is not indicated by the data in the Table, the interviews have brought to light that the mother's relatives also play an important "affective" role with regard to the children.

Table 4.1.3 further shows that the father is only approached to a greater degree than the mother (72% against 28%) in matters "material" - for clothing, school fees and related matters.

The Ideals Parents have for their Children

Table 4.1.4.

TABLE 4.1.4

The Ideals Parents have for their Children

Ideals or aims for children	Yes	No
1. Do the parents consider it necessary that their children attend customary schools?	78	22
2. The reason why parents consider attendance of customary schools necessary.		
1. Because it is the custom of the wife's ethnic group	1.72	}
2. Because it is the custom of the husband's ethnic group	2.12	
3. Because it is the custom of the wife's former husband's ethnic group	3.8	
4. Because it is the custom of both the husband's and wife's ethnic group	4.8	
3. Do parents feel their children should attend formal schools?	96	4
4. Do the parents feel that boys and girls should have the same level of education?		
1. Don't know	1.23	}
2. Same level	2.23	
3. Girls higher	3.2	
4. Boys higher	4.40	
5. Only girls should be educated	5.8	
6. Only boys should be educated	6.4	
5. Where would the parents like their children to settle?		
1. On the Estates	-	}
2. Outside the Estates	2.10	
6. Do the parents want their children to work on the Estates?	32	68

1) Percentage of parents considering "attendance" or "education" necessary.

According to Table 4.1.4, 78% of the parents are still "traditionally" inclined for they are still of the opinion that children should attend the customary or initiation schools. From the reasons given by those parents who consider that their children should attend a customary school it appears that 72% were of that opinion because it was the custom of the wife's ethnic group. In a further 12% of the cases the reason given was "the custom of the husband's ethnic group", whereas 8% referred to the custom of the wife's former husband's ethnic group and the remaining 8% to the custom of both the husband's and the wife's ethnic group.

It would appear (from the foregoing exposition) that old customs and traditions are not discarded easily, especially with regard to institutions which have historically played an important part in the education and socialization of the group members.

The data in the Table above, augmented by the information gained during the interviews, show, however, that almost all parents (96%) feel that their children should receive formal and modern education to equip them better to meet the "complicated" demands of modern society.

The adherence to the old (customary school) and the simultaneous need for the new (formal school) are not actually contradictory, as the "old" largely aims at the socialization of the child and the "new" largely at his formal education.

Whereas 40% of the parents are of the opinion that the boys should have a higher education than the girls, 23% are of the opinion that the educational level should be the same, 23% don't know, 8% feel that only girls should be educated and 2% think that girls should have a higher education than boys. Although the aforementioned evidence is not conclusive, it does appear as if in this particular community the role of the female in the educational field and all that accompanies it, is almost as important as the male's. In a community where, as the interviews have shown, literacy is only confined to a small number of women, these educational ideals are interesting and enlightening.

With regard to employment "desires" for the children, most of the parents (68%) would prefer them to work outside the Estates. All parents, however, are of the opinion that their children should settle outside the Estates. The feeling among the parents appears to be that economic and other "life" opportunities are more promising outside the Estates, especially in the cities.

TABLE 4.1.5

Persons Responsible for the Care and Upbringing of the Children

Nature of the tasks and conduct with regard to the children for which various persons are responsible	Mothers	Fathers	Both Father and Mother	Grand-parents (Mother)	Grand-parents (Father)	Former Father's Relatives	Mother's
1. Behavioural conduct towards strangers	86	6		3			
2. Behavioural conduct of girls	88	-		3			
3. Religious instruction	38	39	2	3			
4. Children's laundry	91	-		3			
5. The supervision of children's school work	30	19		6			
6. The waking and dressing of children in the morning	74	12		7			
7. Children's table manners	82	6		3			
8. Payment for the children's customary education	25	35		2		8	8

The care and upbringing of the children

Table 4.1.5

The data in the above table show that the care and upbringing of the children is by and large the responsibility of the mother. For example, the mother is largely or almost entirely responsible for the teaching/training of the children with regard to behavioural conduct towards strangers (86 cases), behavioural conduct of girls (88 cases), the doing of their laundry (91 cases), supervision of school work (39 cases), the waking and dressing of children in the morning (74 cases), and table manners (82 cases). With regard to religious instruction the parents play an equal part (38 and 39 cases respectively). Only in respect of the payment for children's customary education does the father play a more important role than the mother (respectively 35 and 25 cases).

It is significant to note that the maternal grandparents also have a certain amount of influence to exert regarding the care and upbringing of the children. This could probably be ascribed to the fact that these grandparents are within easy physical reach of the children. However, from the interviews held, it can be concluded that the position would not have been different had the grandparents on the father's side also been within easy physical reach.

In the discussion of ideals (cf. Table 4.1.4) the opinion was expressed that it would appear that on matters of education, the wives play a prominent role. In the above Table it also appears that it is the wife who "supervises" children on school work.

Summarizing Remarks

From the above exposition of the roles of husband, wife, children and relatives in the family of the Malawi men on the Zebediela Estates, the following findings and conclusions are the most important:

1. The husband attaches great importance to his nuclear family.
2. The wife does not attach much importance to her nuclear family, but feels that her family of origin is of great importance. The majority - about 75% - of the wives consider their parents' home as their permanent home.

3. Unresolved disputes between the wife and the husband are either settled by the compound manager or otherwise by the wife's relatives.
4. Property, especially where lobola has not been paid (and this is the case in about 75% of the families concerned), will be inherited by the daughters.
5. The children adopt the family name of the mother's parents and only speak the mother's original home language and are also considered to belong to the maternal parents or senior uncle on the mother's side. Very often the children are permanently placed in the care of her parents or in the care of her brother.
6. In general the wife plays a greater part in the disciplining of the children than the father - the children are also more attached to the mother than to the father.
7. With regard to the informal education of the children and related matters, the mother appears to play a more important role than the father.
8. The mother's role with regard to the care and upbringing of the children is decidedly more important than that of the father.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

From the data provided in this study it can be concluded that the circumstances under which the unions between the Malawi men and the South African Bantu women took place was not socio-culturally "normal". The women or wives in the families of the Malawi men were either divorced, neglected, deserted or separated from their former husbands. Only a small percentage (17%) of the women concerned were never married before or had no children at the time of the present marriage.

The women concerned were in reality forced to come to the Estates largely because of starvation or dire economic needs. This factor seems to have been the strongest factor leading to cohabitation with the Malawi men, though - as came to light in the interviews with them - they did not readily accept love proposals by the Malawi men. They actually looked down upon these men as "inferior" people. The culture of the Malawi was so strange to them that marriage to a Malawi man could be or was actually considered a disgrace to herself and to her own community.

The aforementioned state of affairs - and the impressions gained from the interviews have strengthened this conclusion - indicates that where two groups of completely differing cultures, even though being of the same colour, come into close contact, they seem to look down upon each other, more often the larger group looking down upon the minority group.

The Malawi men, coming from a matrilineal family system, have not found it difficult to adopt themselves to the "new" marriage situation. Actually, for them, the new situation was almost normal and did not require much adaptation.

The study has also revealed the continued importance of the lobola practice among the rural patriarchal South African Bantu people. Where lobola is not paid, the omission of the practice has great repercussions on the statuses and roles of husband and wife (Cf. summary, ch. IV). The fact that the children of these families are not considered (by the women and her family of origin) to belong to the nuclear family (of the father) is due to the omission of the payment of lobola. It is also due to this omission that the Malawi man is not regarded as the wife's real husband. Both these latter

practices or attitudes are common in a patriarchal society where lobola has not been paid.

When lobola is absent in a patriarchal marriage, the wife and her children do, however, adopt the name of her husband. In this case, however, the husband does not receive lobola paid in respect of his daughter(s) once they are to be married. However, he is consulted in the conclusion of the marriage(s) of his children.

The fact that the children and the mother in the family of the Malawi men do not adopt the name of the father - even where lobola has been paid - can be attributed to the cultural differences between the local people and the Malawi men. The local people look down upon the Malawi and any person connected with them is said to be pathological in cultural behaviour. It has already been stated that the women who cohabit with the Malawi men were compelled to do so because of the misery brought about by divorce, neglect, desertion, illegitimacy or separation from their former husbands. Under normal circumstances these women would not cohabit with the Malawi. It is for this very reason that though actually cohabiting with the Malawi they do not wish the larger society from which they come, and posterity, to know of this cohabitation. It is for the same reason that they do not want their children to take the name of their father for fear of social ostracism by their own community.

The feeling of non-acceptance of the Malawi men by the local community is further substantiated by the fact that cases where the Malawi men paid lobola to the parents of the women concerned, they - the Malawi men - were only "tolerated" because it was felt that their daughters should not be married to men whose culture and country they had little or no knowledge of.

From the interviews held with the women concerned it became apparent that the parents of the women did not consider the payments made by the Malawi men as actual "lobola", but only as a means of letting them - the parents - know that cohabitation with their daughters was actually taking place. In most cases the "lobola" payment was also not effected in accordance with the accepted customs and procedures of the local community, hence its non-recognition. In the cases where lobola was paid by the Malawi men the children - as in the non-lobola cases - also adopted to the mother's surname.

The language spoken in the family of the Malawi men is that of the wife. This phenomenon, as the interviews show, is largely the result of the fact that the local people despise(d) the Malawi, and it would, therefore, be very degrading to speak their language. There were many cases where the wife could speak the husband's language, but would not do so - only when communicating with the husband directly would she use his language. This resulted in the children failing to speak their father's language.

The fact that the migrant Malawi at the Estates is, ^{reinforces male superiority} in contrast to the local community, maternally orientated, has contributed to the belief that the Malawi are inferior and strange people. Because of this belief, the parents of the wives exercise strict control over them and their children, making it difficult, if not impossible for them to become truly Malawi-orientated. Paradoxically, however, the Malawi families have become "mother-centred" and "matriarchally orientated", a state of affairs which the parents of the wives so despise(d).

It would appear, therefore, that where men from a matriarchal/matrilineal family system - as is the case with the migrant Malawi - marry women from a patriarchal/patrilineal family system and the newly-formed family is situated in a patriarchal society which in turn looks down upon the men from the matriarchal system as inferior people because of their differing culture, the type of family constituted will tend to become matriarchally or maternally inclined. The roles of husband, wife, children and relatives in such circumstances will become matriarchally/maternally orientated.

From the data furnished in this study it therefore appears that section (i) of the hypothesis formulated (cf. chapter 1.2) has been proved invalid for this research project or specific socio-cultural situation.

From the data provided it further appears that when lobola is absent - even where it is present in this case - in a marriage between a patriarchal/patrilineal woman and a matriarchal/matrilineal man the role of the woman will be that of a mother of illegitimate children and that of the man that of a male concubine. Section (ii) of the hypothesis therefore appears to have been proved valid - again for this specific socio-cultural situation.

With regard to the hypothesis as a whole a number of questions may be raised and until reliable answers to these questions have been given no generalizations can be made. Two of the most important questions in this regard are the following:

1. How would the family system have been affected if the matriarchal society of the Malawi men had existed in close physical proximity to the patriarchal society of the women they married, assuming that the respective cultures were known to each other and no animosity existed between them.

2. Would the resulting family system, including the roles of the family members, have been different if the marriages were all "first" marriages.

Extensive research will therefore still be necessary to either prove or disprove the general validity of the hypothesis in its entirety or in (its) part.

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THE ZEBEDIELA ESTATES

The Zebediela Estates, lying at an altitude of 3,300 - 3900 feet above sea level between the Compies and the Mogoto rivers, 112 km. south of the Tropic of Capricorn and bounded on the North by the Strydpoort Mountains, was established in 1917 by the Schlesinger Organization for the purpose of the development of a Citrus Plantation. It was named after a Chief whose tribe once occupied the area immediately south of the Estates.

The planting of Citrus trees began in 1918 and continues up till this day. The following statistics show the original and new plantings:

	<u>Trees</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Trees per acre</u>
Original plantings (1918-1926)	217,338	3,343	66
New plantings (1951-1967)	338,243	2,411	140
Total	555,581	5,754	

The closer planting of trees since 1956 was the result of research undertaken by Dr. P.J. Quin, a former director of the Estates.

Until 1952 Zebediela Estates employed only European women on grading and packing, but since 1953 this work is being done by Bantu women under white supervision. These women come for the packing seasons from neighbouring Bantu reserves.

For the direction, control, administration and maintenance of the Estates there is a permanent European staff of approximately 70, accommodated either in staff houses or in flats. The Bantu workers number approximately 2500 and are housed in fifteen large and three small settlements, planned after close study of the family life of the Bantu in their home kraals.

The Zebediela Employees Co-operative Trading Society Ltd. is a general dealer and butchery business run by the staff, for the staff and Bantu workers.

There are schools for the primary education of all children, European and Bantu; the Dutch Reformed Church and Mission caters for the spiritual and welfare needs of all employees; and the health of the entire community is well cared for by the Groothoek Mission Hospital situated immediately beyond the eastern boundary of the Estates. This fully equipped hospital has a medical staff of seven doctors, a matron, European and Bantu sisters and nurses. Specialist practitioners from Pietersburg also make regular visits to the hospital. As recently as March 1968, a training College for Bantu Nurses was established at the hospital.

SCHEDULE A

1. How many Nyasas are there in your section
2. How many of the Nyasa family men come from Malawi
3. How many married Nyasa come from places other than Malawi
4. How many of the married Nyasa have:
 - (a) Ndebele wives
 - (b) Pedi wives
 - (c) Venda wives
 - (d) S. Sotho wives
 - (e) Tswana wives
 - (f) Zulu wives
 - (g) Tsonga wives
 - (h) Any other wives
5. How many of these married Nyasa are married according to:
 - (a) Bantu custom
 - (b) Christian rites
 - (c) Legal rites
 - (d) No marriage (cohabitation)
6. For how many of the wives married to or cohabitating with the Nyasa men was this a first marriage
7. How many of the wives were previously married
8. Of these second wives, how many came with children
9. Of these second wives, how many have children by their present husbands
10. What is the total number of children in the families of the migrant Nyasa
11. Of the first wives, how many have children by their present husbands

12. How many children of the Nyasas are at school
13. How many of the children are working on the Estates
14. How many are working outside the Estates
15. How many Nyasas who work in your section have families outside the Estates
16. Of the Nyasa families in your section, how many are:
 - (a) Christians
 - (b) Moslems
 - (c) Other religions (specify)
17. Of the Nyasa families, how many can read and write
18. How many of the Nyasa families have five years of existence or over
19. How many Nyasas married their wives outside the Estates
20. How many Nyasa men have married Nyasa wives
21. How many Nyasas are:
 - (a) Yao
 - (b) Angoni
 - (c) Chewa
 - (d) Nyanja
 - (e) Any other

SCHEDULE B

1. To what tribe does the husband belong:
 - (a) Yao
 - (b) Chewa
 - (c) Nyanja
 - (d) Angoni
 - (e) Other

2. How long is the husband on the Estates

3. Was he married or unmarried in Malawi before he came to the Estates:
 - (a) Married
 - (b) Unmarried

4. Is the present wife the first woman with whom he stayed on the Estates:
 - (a) Yes
 - (b) No

5. If not the first what has happened to the first one/ones

6. Were children born in the first marriage:
 - (a) Yes
 - (b) No

7. To what tribe does the wife belong:
 - (a) Ndebele
 - (b) Pedi
 - (c) Venda
 - (d) Tswana
 - (e) Other

8. When did the wife come to the Estates

9. Was the wife married before she came to the Estates:
 - (a) Yes
 - (b) No

- 10. What has happened to the first marriage of the wife:
 - (a) Divorced
 - (b) Separated
 - (c) Never married
- 11. Was the first husband
 - (a) Nyasa
 - (b) Pedi
 - (c) Venda
 - (d) Other
- 12. How many children were born out of the first marriage

FAMILY ORGANISATION

- 1. How was the marriage effected:
 - (a) Christian rites
 - (b) Bantu custom
 - (c) Civil rites
 - (d) Cohabitation (no marriage)
- 2. Has the husband paid lobola for his wife -
 - (a) Yes
 - (b) No
- 3. How many years is the couple married
- 4. How many children does the family have
- 5. How many of these children are by the present husband
- 6. To which church does the family belong

AUTHORITY IN THE FAMILY

- 1. Who is head of the household:
 - (a) Husband
 - (b) Wife
 - (c) Other person (specify)
- 2. From whom do the children ask for permission if they want to marry:
 - (a) Father
 - (b) Mother
 - (c) Maternal uncle
 - (d) Other person

3. Who pays lobola for a son who marries:
 - (a) Father
 - (b) Mother
 - (c) Maternal uncle
 - (d) Other person
4. Who receives lobola for a daughter who gets married:
 - (a) Father
 - (b) Mother
 - (c) Maternal uncle
 - (d) Other person
5. From whom do the children get permission to go and visit:
 - (a) Father
 - (b) Mother
 - (c) Maternal uncle
 - (d) Other person
6. From whom do the children ask for clothes:
 - (a) Mother
 - (b) Father
 - (c) Other person
7. Who controls the finances of the family:
 - (a) Husband
 - (b) Wife
 - (c) Maternal uncle
8. Who buys the grocery for the family:
 - (a) Husband
 - (b) Wife
 - (c) Other person
9. From whom do the children ask for school fees:
 - (a) Father
 - (b) Mother
 - (c) Other person

10. To whom do the children report all their important matters:
- (a) Mother
 - (b) Father
 - (c) Other person
11. To whom does the wife report all important matters:
- (a) Husband
 - (b) Brother
 - (c) Other person
12. From whom does the husband obtain permission to carry out his life schemes:
- (a) Wife
 - (b) Father
 - (c) Brother
 - (d) Other person
13. If the wife is dissatisfied with the husband's behaviour, to whom does she report and seek advice:
- (a) Her brother
 - (b) Parents
 - (c) Other person
14. If the husband is dissatisfied with the wife's conduct, to whom does he report the matter, and seek advice:
- (a) Her brother
 - (b) Parents
 - (c) Other person
15. From whom does the husband reclaim his lobola if he so desires:
- (a) Wife's brother
 - (b) Wife's parents
 - (c) Other people

DESCENT

1. Whose name do the children adopt:
- (a) Mother's
 - (b) Father's
 - (c) Other person's

2. Whose language do the children speak:
 - (a) Mother's
 - (b) Father's
 - (c) Other person's
3. Has the wife adopted the husband's name after marriage:
 - (a) Yes
 - (b) No
4. Which place do the children consider as their real home:
 - (a) Zebediela Estates
 - (b) Malawi
 - (c) Mother's home
 - (d) Other place
5. What do children identify themselves as:
 - (a) Nyasa
 - (b) Mother's tribe
 - (c) Any other

INHERITANCE AND SUCCESSION

1. When the father dies who succeeds to his social position:
 - (a) Son
 - (b) Daughter
 - (c) Nephew
 - (d) Niece
 - (e) Any other
2. When the father dies who inherits the property:
 - (a) Son
 - (b) Daughter
 - (c) Nephew
 - (d) Other person
3. When the mother dies who succeeds to her social position:
 - (a) Daughter
 - (b) Son
 - (c) Brother's daughter
 - (d) Brother's son.

OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY

1. Who owns the house:
 - (a) Husband
 - (b) Wife
 - (c) Other person
2. Who owns the furniture:
 - (a) Husband
 - (b) Wife
 - (c) Other person
3. Who owns the children:
 - (a) Wife
 - (b) Husband
 - (c) Both

RESIDENCE

1. Which place does the wife consider as her home:
 - (a) Husband's home
 - (b) Her maiden home
 - (c) Some other place
2. Which place do the children consider as their own home:
 - (a) Father's home
 - (b) Mother's home
 - (c) Other place
3. Which place does the husband regard as his real home:
 - (a) Wife's home
 - (b) His parent's home
 - (c) Other place
4. Whose parents are in closer contact with the family:
 - (a) Wife's
 - (b) Husband's
5. Have the husband's parents been to the wife's home in Malawi:
 - (a) Yes
 - (b) No

6. Has the wife been to the husband's home in Malawi:
(a) Yes (b) No
7. Does the husband frequent the wife's home of origin:
(a) Yes (b) No
8. Where do the working children go when they are on leave:
(a) Mother's home
(b) Father's home in Malawi
(c) Parents' place on the Estates

HOUSEHOLD DUTIES

1. Who buys the grocery for the family:
(a) Husband
(b) Wife
(c) Other person
2. Who budgets for the family:
(a) Husband
(b) Wife
(c) Both
3. Who does the cleaning of the home:
(a) Wife
(b) Husband
(c) Both
(d) Children
(e) Other person
4. Who is responsible for cooking and drawing water for the household:
(a) Wife
(b) Husband
(c) Children
(d) Other person
5. Who is the main/chief breadwinner for the family:
(a) Wife
(b) Husband

6. Does the other partner help in this respect:
(a) Yes (b) No
7. Do the children contribute to the income of the family:
(a) Yes (b) No

CARE AND UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN

(A) EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

1. Who teaches the children the correct manner of behaving towards strangers, relatives and friends:
(a) Mother
(b) Father
(c) Other person
2. Who teaches the daughters the things they need to know as members of society:
(a) Mother
(b) Father
(c) Other person
3. Who is responsible for the religious education of children in the home:
(a) Father
(b) Mother
(c) Other person
4. Who washes the children's clothes:
(a) Mother
(b) Father
(c) Other person
5. Who supervises the children's school work at home:
(a) Father
(b) Mother
(c) Other person
6. Who wakes up the children and dresses them in the morning:
(a) Mother (b) Father (c) Other person

7. Who teaches the children table manners:
 - (a) Mother
 - (b) Father
 - (c) Other person
8. Who is responsible for the customary education of the sons:
 - (a) Father
 - (b) Mother
 - (c) Other person
9. Who is responsible for the customary education of the girls:
 - (a) Mother
 - (b) Father
 - (c) Maternal uncle

(B) DISCIPLINE

1. Who sees that the children help with work at home:
 - (a) Father
 - (b) Mother
 - (c) Maternal uncle
2. Who gives the children consent to go and play with others:
 - (a) Father
 - (b) Mother
3. Who gives consent to the children to take up employment:
 - (a) Mother
 - (b) Father
 - (c) Other person
4. Who punishes children when they are naughty:
 - (a) Father
 - (b) Mother
 - (c) Maternal uncle

5. Who praises the children if they have done something good:
- (a) Father
 - (b) Mother
 - (c) Maternal uncle
6. Who takes responsibility when the children have committed an offence:
- (a) Mother
 - (b) Father
 - (c) Maternal uncle

(C) AFFECTION

1. To whom do the children tell their confidential matters:
- (a) Mother
 - (b) Father
 - (c) Other person
2. To whom do the children go if they have minor injuries:
- (a) Mother
 - (b) Father
 - (c) Other person
3. To whom do the children go if they are in need of clothes and school fees:
- (a) Mother
 - (b) Father
4. Who spends most of the day with the children:
- (a) Mother
 - (b) Father
 - (c) Both
5. Who takes out the children for a walk or a visit:
- (a) Mother
 - (b) Father
 - (c) Other person

6. Who goes to the church with the children:

- (a) Mother
- (b) Father
- (c) Other person
- (d) Not applicable

(D) IDEALS

1. Are both mother and father willing that their children should attend customary schools:

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

2. Do you think it is necessary that your children should attend the customary schools:

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

3. Why should the children attend customary schools?

4. Do the parents want their children to attend formal schools?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

5. Do the parents want both boys and girls to reach the same level of education:

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

6. How far do they want the sons to be educated?

7. How far do they want their daughters to be educated?

8. Do the parents want their children to work on the Estates

9. What type of work would they like their children to do on the Estates

10. What work would they like their children to do outside the Estates?

11. Where would they like to see their children permanently settled?